

became chairman of the Republican National Committee and survived Watergate with his reputation and integrity intact. President Gerald Ford appointed Bush to be chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in the People's Republic of China. During the time he held this position, he was instrumental in improving U.S.-China relations.

From January of 1976 to January of 1977, George Bush was Director of Central Intelligence and incoming President Jimmy Carter considered keeping Bush in the post. He left the Central Intelligence Agency and became a part-time professor at Rice University's Jones School of Business and a director at the prestigious Council on Foreign Relations.

In 1980, George Bush ran for the Republican nomination for President, ultimately yielding to Ronald Reagan, who then chose Bush as his running mate. George Bush served as Vice President for 8 years and then, in 1988, became the first incumbent Vice President to be elected President in 152 years.

George Bush brought all of these qualifications and experiences to the Oval Office. Now, he only served one term; he was defeated in his bid for reelection in 1992. But many commentators have noted that he may be the most successful one-term President in U.S. history. Indeed, his accomplishments in 4 years compare favorably with the accomplishments of many two-term Presidents. I think the key here is that he knew how to reach across the aisle and forge bipartisan compromises. I would like to highlight four.

The first is the Acid Rain Program that was included in the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990. The Acid Rain Program established a cap-and-trade regime to cut sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxides emissions. Cap-and-trade was originally a Republican idea to harness market forces for environmental protection. Environmental groups and Democrats were wary, initially, of the authorizations to emit SO₂ and NO_x, known as allowances. They worried that a "property right" in polluting was being established, but the program exceeded everyone's expectation and is one of the most successful environmental programs in history. When George W. Bush was President, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, EPA, determined that the program has had a benefit-to-cost ratio of 40-1. Our technical knowledge of the best ways to structure cap-and-trade programs has grown exponentially since 1990; sadly, the political will has atrophied. Even though Republicans were the first to promote cap-and-trade, they have essentially abandoned the idea now, but President Bush saw the potential, and the enormous progress we have made in combatting acid rain is part of his environmental legacy that will endure.

The second accomplishment is the Americans with Disabilities Act, ADA,

which our retiring colleague, Senator HATCH, championed with then-Senator Tom Harkin from Iowa. President Bush signed ADA into law in 1990, and it became known as the Emancipation Proclamation for people with disabilities. ADA literally changed the landscape of America by requiring buildings and transportation to be wheelchair accessible, and it required workplace accommodations for people with disabilities. Nearly 30 years after President Bush signed ADA into law, the improvements the ADA has made enjoy an 83 percent approval rating from the American public. Making life, education, and work more accessible to people with disabilities isn't just good for them; it is good for all of us as we benefit from the fuller contributions they are now able to make to society.

The third accomplishment, I am sure, was difficult for President Bush, and it cost him Republican support in his bid to win reelection in 1992: the 1990 budget deal he negotiated with Congress. At the 1988 Republican National Convention, he famously said, "Read my lips: no new taxes." While he was a Texan by choice, he never lost the pragmatism characteristic of New Englanders. As a recession began to fuel a rise in budget deficits, he realized that he needed to work with a Congress controlled by Democrats and come up with a budget deal, stating "it is clear to me that both the size of the deficit problem and the need for a package that can be enacted require all of the following: entitlement and mandatory program reform, tax revenue increases, growth incentives, discretionary spending reductions, orderly reductions in defense expenditures, and budget process reform." He understood that such a comprehensive framework is the only way to reduce the deficit. Unfortunately, the Trump administration and congressional Republicans still cling to the discredited notion of "supply-side" economics, which President Bush famously called "voodoo economics," and our budget situation has become more and more precarious. I doubt President Trump is capable of displaying President Bush's pragmatism, deal-making ability, and willingness to sacrifice personal popularity for the greater good.

His fourth accomplishment fell within his "wheelhouse": foreign policy and personal diplomacy. He prudently, successfully navigated the fall of the Berlin Wall, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait. He showed remarkable but characteristic restraint when the Berlin Wall came down, and many historians credit that restraint with preventing a backlash from hardliners in Eastern Europe. Likewise, the relationship he carefully cultivated with Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev, including negotiating the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, START, helped end the Cold War not with a bang, but with a whimper.

Prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union, when Hussein invaded Kuwait

in 1990, President Bush carefully assembled a coalition that consisted of our traditional allies but also the Soviet Union and, even more crucially, other Arab nations to drive him out. He went to Congress and received authorization for the use of military force when it became clear that international diplomacy would not succeed in dislodging Hussein. "Operation Desert Storm" was well-planned and well-executed and succeeded in liberating Kuwait in less than 2 months. While many people have argued that President Bush should have extended the war to remove Hussein from power, he made it clear from the start that was never his objective. He presciently argued that pursuing Hussein into Iraq would destabilize the region and lead to a lengthy military conflict. President Bush optimistically spoke of a "New World Order" characterized by an era of historic cooperation between nations. He helped to bring such order into existence. It seemed durable at the time. Now, we realize that it needs more careful attention and nurturing than we, perhaps, previously thought necessary.

All of these accomplishments and more cemented George H.W. Bush's legacy. They alone would be impressive, but what became clear in the outpouring of respect and affection that followed his death is the acknowledgment of what a genuinely decent person he was. He was a humble and self-deprecating man. He respected our important institutions, and he respected people, including his opponents. He was deeply religious. He embraced the principle of noblesse oblige: to whom much is given, much more shall be required in return. As a result, he lived his life as a servant. He was committed to his country and to his beloved wife Barbara and his family, and to his friends. It seems he had an inexhaustible desire and capacity for making new friends from all walks of life, including former political adversaries such as the man who defeated him in the 1992 election, Bill Clinton. When President Bush spoke of his desire to see a "kinder, gentler America,"—one illumined by a thousand points of light, he was sincere.

Since President Bush has died, many commentators have said that he represented a bygone era. I certainly hope not. If we are to continue succeeding as a nation, his fundamental decency, pragmatism, kindness, bravery, self-sacrifice, persistence, and optimism shine a bright light on the path we should strive to follow. If we wish to honor President Bush, we should reflect on his character and temperament and other sterling qualities and seek to emulate them. He was a great man. Perhaps even more important, he was a good man.

TRIBUTE TO DEPARTING SENATORS

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Madam President, December should be the happiest

month of the year, as we await Christmas and the New Year, but in the even numbered years, it is bittersweet as we say goodbye to colleagues who will not be returning in the next Congress. While the body often seems to be polarized and contentious to the public that knows us only from media appearances, the fact is that partnership and alliances across the aisle are part of the fabric of the body, and friendships of unlikely allies abound. This is not to say that we don't disagree on issues; we very much do. But we strive for these disagreements never to erode our collegiality.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank those with whom I have been proud to serve, Mr. HATCH, our President Pro Tempore, Mr. CORKER, Mr. FLAKE, and Mr. HELLER on my side of the aisle for their distinguished service. To my friend, Mr. KYL, it has been a pleasure to serve with you again. On the Democrat side of the aisle, Mr. DONNELLY, Ms. MCCASKILL, Mr. NELSON, and especially my dear friend, Ms. HEITKAMP, the Senator from North Dakota. Each of these individuals cares deeply for the Nation, for the States they have represented so ably, and for the Senate.

TRIBUTE TO ORRIN HATCH

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Madam President, I pay tribute to my friend, the Senator from Utah, President pro tempore of the Senate, who is retiring after 41 years of service. Senator HATCH is known as a Senator's Senator. He has had more legislation signed into law than any other living Member of this body, and he has chaired the Finance, Judiciary, and Labor and Human Resources Committees with great distinction. Today we call that Labor and Human Resources Committee the HELP Committee.

We all recall the friendship Mr. HATCH had with the late Senator from Massachusetts, Mr. KENNEDY. This relationship was responsible for some of the most impactful legislation of our time. The State Children's Health Insurance Program, the Americans with Disabilities Act, and the Ryan White Act, to name a few, and when Senator KENNEDY suffered from life's difficulties, Senator HATCH was there to support him as a friend.

On June 28, 2017, Senator HATCH published a very important column in *TIME* Magazine, entitled, "I am recommitting myself to civility." Written in the wake of the attempted massacre of colleagues who were practicing for the annual congressional softball game, a racially motivated stabbing in Portland, and dueling political rallies in Berkeley that turned violent, Senator HATCH observed, "Civility is the indispensable political norm."

I would like to quote a few sentences from Mr. HATCH's column because they bear repeating, now more than ever.

"Civility—it is the public virtue that has greased the wheels of our democracy since its inception. Without it, little separates us from the cruelty and chaos of rule by force.

For decades, civility has acted as the levee protecting our society from its own worst impulses. But that levee now shows signs of strain as political passions spill over into open violence."

If our Nation paid greater heed to Mr. HATCH's wisdom, horrors like the Pittsburgh synagogue shooting might well have been avoided.

ORRIN, you have been a steady hand in troubled times. While you may have chosen to retire from this body, your work is hardly done, and I hope that your retirement does not mark a retreat from your commitment to keep our Nation and your colleagues on a steady course.

You are indeed a Senator's Senator and a true patriot.

TRIBUTE TO BOB CORKER

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Madam President, people often forget that each of us comes to the Senate having done other significant things in life. Mr. CORKER, the Senator from Tennessee, came here with a series of experiences that greatly informed his work in the Senate, as well as the work of his colleagues.

Mr. CORKER was a success in business long before he entered politics, and he brought the lessons of that success into public service. He was the deeply respected mayor of Chattanooga, TN. Mayors are perhaps the most accountable elected officials in the Nation. They are a pragmatic results-oriented stock. They live in the communities that they govern, so there is no place to hide, and they are forced to defend their records because the electorate knows what they have done and haven't. No room for spin when you are a mayor.

BOB then brought the lessons of both of these careers to the U.S. Senate where he is known as a no-nonsense Senator who cuts through the bluster and focuses on the facts. On difficult problems, whether it was the Iran nuclear agreement or working to save the American automobile industry from near collapse, he brought discipline to our deliberations.

I would like to say a few words about BOB's work as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has historically held a preeminent role in the formulation and execution of U.S. foreign policy. Chairman CORKER approached the position with all of the grace and diplomacy appropriate to the office.

As the Senate's representative to the executive in foreign policy, he ably represented our interests. He asked the questions that were on so many of our minds and then he returned to the Senate to explain the administration's thinking. He calmed many of our anxieties about the turbulent world in which we live. I like to think that is because Mr. CORKER is a thoughtful, methodical, and calm thinker. His calm, steady leadership as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee these past several years will be greatly missed.

TRIBUTE TO HEIDI HEITKAMP

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Madam President, HEIDI HEITKAMP and I share much in common. Although we sit on different sides of the aisle, we represent resource States, we represent significant populations of Native Americans, and we are each fiercely independent women who have tended to vote our conscience over party on the toughest issues of our time. We are also the best of friends off the court. So it will come as no surprise to those who know us that I am heartbroken that my friend will not be returning to serve alongside me in the next Congress.

Our collaborations over the past 6 years have been very productive. We partnered on creating the Alyce Spotted Bear and Walter Soboleff Commission on Native Children, a body named for respected Elders from each of our States. The commission has been stood up and is now operating. I am hopeful that the commission will conclude its work with recommendations that we can adopt into law. The adoption of those recommendations will be a fitting legacy for my friend, the Senator from North Dakota.

Senator HEITKAMP and I have also collaborated on Savanna's Act, which is the first piece of legislation to specifically address the epidemic of missing and murdered Native women and girls in America. This cause is so very important to my friend, as it is to me, but I would like to share a story about my friend that is so telling about her commitment and her character.

On the Wednesday, following our return from the election day and Veterans Day recess, I had a news conference scheduled with the Urban Indian Health Institute. That news conference was called to discuss the results of a new report on the epidemic of missing and murdered Native women and girls in urban American cities. It was important to me that my friend be present at that news conference because it was about an issue that she championed during her time in the Senate, and it would have been excusable if my friend had bowed out, having just fought and lost a difficult reelection bid.

But my friend didn't bow out. She stepped up, and she pledged to the advocates present that, even though she will no longer be a Senator come January, she would be moving over to their side come January. She pledged to remain an advocate for this cause that is most important to her. She will continue to do great and good things. Her work is not done.

To HEIDI, you have done good in the U.S. Senate. We thank you.

TRIBUTE TO IAN JANNETTA

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Madam President, I wish to recognize an excellent